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Nevertheless a very large part of transport takes place on human backs with the aid of aboriginal devices. Burdens are supported with the aid of the forehead tump-line (S. *mecapal;* N. *mecapalli*), which is sometimes assisted by another line across the chest. Articles are carried either in the *chiquihuite*, which is then bound to the *mecapal* by means of the *ayate* (N. *ayatl*),[1] a tough, coarse-woven cloth of maguey fiber, or else in the *huacal* (N. *huacalli*), a crate of rough-hewn sticks. Water is carried in a hollow gourd (S. *bule;* N. *atecomatl*), supported by a lacing of leather thongs. Women, as has already been said, carry purchases or small belongings in the *canasta*, or occasionally in a long rectangular fiber bag (S. *bolsa*). Men never carry these, but use for the *machete* or other possessions a small flat, square bag of vegetable fiber, the *morral* (S.).

Of musical instruments, recognized by the Tepoztecans as such, all are European: guitar, flute, saxophone, cornet, etc. Ritual music is sharply distinguished and ordinarily not called music. Of instruments employed for this purpose the horizontal wooden double-slotted drum (*teponaztli*) is entirely pre-Columbian. One of the two *teponaztlis* remaining in Tepoztlán has every appearance of being an actual pre-Columbian artifact. The *huehuetl*, the vertical drum with the skin head, which in Mexico is a commoner survival than the *teponaztli*, does not occur in

[1] On the use of the *ayate* among the Otomi see Starr, *Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 8.

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534 [796] Tepoztlán. The small flageolet (S. *chirimía*), which together with a small drum of European pattern is played on the roof of the church or chapel to signalize every sacred *fiesta*, as were once played on the *teocalli* the *tlapitsali*, *huehuetl*, and *teponaztli*, is carved out of [177] *zopilote* wood and is a modification of the ancient pattern under Spanish influence. In Nahuatl discourse it bears the ancient name *tlapitsali*.

177 438 [333] [283] Local industries are few and almost all are European in character. *Adobe* bricks are made by anyone who builds a new house or repairs an old one; the simple technique is probably chiefly aboriginal. The twisting of ropes of maguey fiber is a domestic industry confined to a limited group of houses. This technique is European; a wooden wheel is used. The lime-burning done at the neighboring hamlet of San Andres is likewise European. Carpentering, ironwork- [463] ing, masonry, woodcarving, silverwork, shoemaking, and breadmaking are all in the hands of specialists; in each case the tools and techniques are European—the early priests were good teachers and the Indians good pupils.

286 Mena[1] declares that *zarapes* are made in Tepoztlán of tree cotton, but other evidence of such manufacture is lacking. A large loom has recently been introduced by an educated young man for the weaving of shawls. The use of tree cotton (N. *cuahichcatl*) is, 283 however, well understood, and occasionally thread is spun thereof by the use of pre-Columbian spindle

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 382.

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General Tepoztecan Culture			Secondary Elements
Indian Elements	Mixed Elements	Spanish Elements	
AGRICULTURE			
Pointed stick	*Coa*	Plow	
TRANSPORT			
Ayate; chiquihuite; mecapal; huacal; hule	*Morrales*	Horses; mules; *burros;* oxen	
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS			
Teponaztli	*Chirimía*	Guitar; cornet	Phonograph; violin
INDUSTRIES			
Weaving; adobe-making		Brick- and tile-making; iron-working; carpentering; shoemaking; breadmaking	Bottling drinks

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the day of the *fiesta* they come to dance before the *santo*. They march up to the chapel and kneel before the altar. Then they dance and sing inside the chapel. They wear tall, plumed headdresses, embroidered with beads and small mirrors, pink or red blouses, short red skirts with bead and shell pendants, colored stockings, and sandals. Some are women; most are men, who wear long false hair. They dance to mandolins made of armadillo shell. Their leaders carry banners bearing the name of their organization and effigies of *santos*. After they have paid their respects to the *santo* in the church, they come outside and, forming a circle, begin to dance in the atrium. The step is varied from time to time, but the dancers keep their respective places in the circle. Occasionally they sing. The leader sings the verses, and all join in the chorus:

¡Ay! Jesús!
Solo Jesús
Quiso morir en la cruz.

The *cuadrillos* of *Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago arrive together, accompanied by a band of musicians. They march into the church to kneel before the *santo*, before beginning to dance on the other side of the atrium. The dancing keeps up all morning.

While they are dancing the large candles to be burned before the *santo* are brought in a procession from the house of the *mayordomo* of the candles. Men carry them swung on poles. In front go women carrying baskets of flowers and braziers of burning copal

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*796 the afternoon a dinner is served there to twelve of the older men. This symbolizes the Last Supper. A thirteenth chair is left vacant. The Lenten meal is eaten: [264] fish, rice, and sometimes lentils and the dish known as [262] *revoltijo*.[1]

Wednesday.—Today and Thursday and Friday and on Saturday morning only absolutely necessary work is done. No social entertainment is held, no rocket is discharged. The men do not go to fetch wood from the mountains; the public washing-stones are deserted. The women do only the unavoidable grinding and cooking. People try to have enough water hauled by Tuesday night to last until Saturday. The bells are not rung in the church towers; instead, the *matraca*, a [534] huge wooden rattle, is sounded.

*796 *Thursday*.—The altars in the church are decorated 782 with laurel and with cedar. On each lie rows of oranges and *toronjos* (the shaddock), with little squares [824] of gold and silver paper pasted on them.[2] An image [778] (El Señor de Santo Entierro) is displayed in a glass-and-gilt coffin. A man sits at the entrance of the church to collect offerings (which are occasional and not made as perpetual pledges) for the crown and clothing of this image. In the afternoon, if the priest is there, he washes the feet of the Disciples. Many

[1] A seasoned stew of shrimps and nopal (cactus).

[789] [2] The laurel and cedar are given away the following Monday. They are used to stop storms, particularly hailstorms. When a storm approaches, people put one of these sacred boughs on the fire and the storm recedes. Frances Toor (*op. cit.*, p. 54) says they are also hung up at doors and windows to keep out evil spirits. The oranges and shaddocks are blessed by the priest and sold; the peel is [757] used for various remedies.

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paper rosettes, wax flowers, and garlands of *chicaltzo*. People come into the church to light a candle at the altar and to hang a garland on it. Just outside the church under the *enramada* stand two rows of little girls, dressed in white with white crowns and bearing staffs adorned with bells and ribbons. They are *Las Pastoras*, and they strike their staffs on the flags and sing a traditional song of praise to El Señor de Ixcatepec.

In a wide circle at one side of the *enramada*, *Los Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago dance to their armadillo-shell guitars. At intervals they sing a song to *La Guadalupana*. There is the rattle of a small drum and the high note of a metal flute. *Los Moros* from Santo Domingo enter the churchyard gate. They come doing their little skipping step, to suggest men on horseback. The five Moors, with their helmets, flounced skirts, and black goggles, and the four Christians, in plumed hats and short skirts, weave back and forth in a double row, clashing *machetes* as they come. On the other side of the *enramada* they perform the acted and spoken drama of the struggle between the Moors and the Christians. This takes about five hours. Crowds of people watch them, and other crowds watch *Los Apaches* and *Las Pastoras*.

The sacred entertainment takes place within the churchyard; the secular entertainment is going on outside. There are several ballad-singers, each with his guitar and his attentive audience. Other men are gambling, squatted around the board. There are rows

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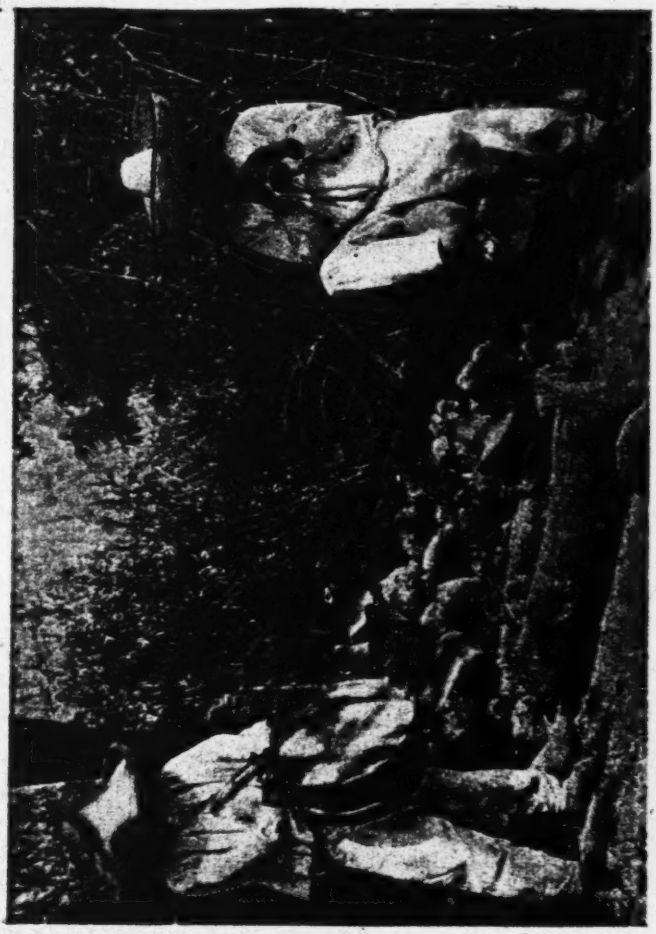

CHIRIMITERO AND HIS DRUMMER: AT THE *CASTIYOHPA, BARRIO* OF SANTA CRUZ

[facing page 151]

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Nicnochicahua noyollo!
Nic-chicahua in noyollo!
I fortify my heart!

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Maxihuala, ti Tlalmanacatl!
Ma xihuallauh, in ti Tlamanalcatl!
Come forward, thou from Tlalmanalco!

tlein ipampa tinechtemohua?
Tlein ipampa in ti-nech temohua?
Why dost thou seek me?

Maxihualacan, anmonochtin!
Ma xihualcan, anmo-nochtin!
Come forward, all of you!

xic-caquiqui tlein huel notenyo, notlahtol.
Xic-caqui-qui tlein-huel in notenyo, in notlahtol.[1]
Come to hear how great is my fame, my majesty.

Nepa ye huehca, canin anahuiaya anpahpactoya;
Nepa ye huecapa canin in an-ahahuia, an-pahpactiaya;
Far over there where you gloried [in your power];

[1] *Tenyo*, contraction of *tenyotl*, "fame": *tlatolli*, "word," and, in a secondary sense, "fame," "authority," "majesty." *N'amech*, "I from you"; *hual-anilli'on*, *anilia-tia*, "to cause to take or bring" (with *hual*, "toward"); *an*, "here, from there": "I have taken from you there and brought [them] here or caused them to be brought here, the *tlalpanhuehuetl* and the *tlalpanteponaztli*." The former, as the war drum, which could be heard for five miles, was the symbol of national power and valor in battle; the latter was symbolical of the social side of life. It was the favorite musical instrument of the poets, song composers, and musicians of the courts of the kings of Mexico and Texcoco. The taking of these drums from the cities that made war on the Tepozteco symbolized their defeat in war and the disruption of their social life. The poem closes with the command of the Tepozteco to the court musicians to bring forth the war drum and beat the war music (with its accompanying war chant), thus proclaiming the victory of the Tepozteca and the humiliation of the warring cities. The *panhuehuetl* was a large upright drum; and the *tlal-panhuehuetl* was so called because it rested on the ground or floor. [534] [534]

The accentuation of words was somewhat different in the valley of Mexico from that of outlying Nahuatl territory. In the valley every word was accentuated on the penultimate; and the long compound words carried the accent regularly on every second syllable thereafter. This gave a succession of trochees and made the trochaic the natural Nahuatl meter.